

WHICH WAY ISRAEL?

**AN EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT
BY A MARXIST EDUCATOR**

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and War Economy and Crisis*

A NEW OUTLOOK PAMPHLET

20 cents

Introduction

In the course of his recent visit to our shores, Saudi Arabia's King Faisal provoked a storm of angry protest with his remarks: "Unfortunately, Jews support Israel and we consider those who support our enemies as our own enemies." The reaction to this anti-Semitic utterance caused Mayor Lindsay of New York to cancel a formal dinner and Governor Rockefeller to call off an appointment. But Secretary of State Dean Rusk and others were not similarly inclined, and the visit otherwise went off as scheduled.

King Faisal, we are told, later "clarified" his remark by stating that he was not opposed to Jews as such, only to political Zionism and to those Jews who supported it. But this hardly explains Saudi Arabia's refusal to accept Jews—any Jews—as diplomatic or other personnel sent from this country. Still less does it explain the State Department's readiness to comply with this prohibition.

All this brings us to the question: what was King Faisal doing in this country in the first place? The answer is to be found in U.S. policy in the Middle East—a policy of support to the most reactionary, pro-imperialist regimes in that area, among which that of King Faisal stands at the head.

The Arab countries are in a state of growing popular rebellion against the depredations of imperialism allied with reactionary Arab leaders. The forces of national liberation are increasing in strength, and the Johnson Administration is doing its utmost to hold them in check. In this endeavor, it looks upon King Faisal as one of its most reliable allies.

And while it bases itself on the Faisals with their anti-Semitism on the one hand, the Johnson Administration counts on the support of the government of Israel on the other. In the fashion characteristic of imperialism it strives to inflame Jewish-Arab hostilities in order to maintain its sway over both.

In this country there is much interest in Israel and its fate, plunged as it is into the political cauldron of the Middle East. What kind of country is Israel? Who are its people? What is the structure of its economy? What is the character of its government? What is its role on the international scene?

Recently, in the course of a two-week visit to Israel, I had the opportunity to probe into these questions. Though the visit was brief, I was able to see much of the country, its people and its institutions. In the series of four articles which originally appeared in *The Worker*, and which are reprinted here, I have endeavored to present a summary of what I found.

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June 28, 1966

Published by NEW OUTLOOK PUBLISHERS, 32 Union Square East,
New York, N. Y. 10003

July, 1966



PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

I. A LAND OF CONTRASTS

Israel is a small country. Its population numbers only some 2½ million—less than the number of people living in Manhattan. However, its significance on the world scene and the interest in its affairs which exists in this country far exceed its mere size. Hence the trip on which the content of these articles is based.

To be sure, a two-week visit scarcely qualifies one as an expert. But there are certain features of the country which are strikingly evident to the newly arrived visitor.

To begin with, Israel is a land of great variety and sharp contrasts. Within the compass of its 10,000 square miles the old and the new, progress and reaction, are to be found side by side, intermingling yet clearly distinct.

Itself an advanced capitalist country with a modern industrial economy, Israel is situated within the heart of an Arab world marked by economic backwardness and extreme poverty. Within the country, modern factories exist alongside relics of past civilizations, and the highly mechanized agriculture of the kibbutzim alongside the primitive peasant economy of the Arab villages and the nomadic existence of the country's Bedouin population.

Israel is also a land of rapid growth and rapid change. Since 1948, it has had more than a million immigrants and its population has nearly tripled. This in turn has been accompanied by a high rate of economic growth.

Originally the immigrants were mainly European Jews; more recently the majority have been Oriental Jews, mostly Yemenite and Iraqi. There is also Israel's Arab population, which today makes up about 12 per cent of the total.

The swiftness of the process of change is reflected in a pronounced contrast between the older and younger generations. The former are of diverse national origins and speak a variety of languages—Yiddish, Arabic, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Hungarian, Polish, German, English, French. They cling to their accustomed habits and cultures, and many have never learned Hebrew. In fact, the Communist Party of Israel, in addition to a daily newspaper in Hebrew and a semi-weekly in Arabic, has had to publish weeklies in Yiddish, Bulgarian and Roumanian, as well as a mimeographed paper in Hungarian.

The younger generation is very noticeably different. Its lan-

guage is Hebrew (and where a second language is learned at school, it is most apt to be English or French). Its manners, its outlook, its culture (though displaying considerable American and West European influences) can only be described as uniquely Israeli. In these young people, bright, eager and alert, one sees the embodiment of an emergent Israeli nation. One sees the future of Israel—a hopeful future.

An especially striking feature of the Israeli scene is the great contrast between the conditions of life of Jew and Arab, and between European Jew and Oriental Jew.

On Allenby Street in downtown Tel Aviv, the atmosphere is one of affluence. People are dressed well, though informally. The store windows, attractively decorated, are loaded with a great variety of merchandise. The street and its people resemble very much a business thoroughfare in an American city, and one almost expects the people one encounters to speak English rather than Hebrew.

From here it is not far to residential sections with well-kept streets and attractive, modern apartment houses. And on the outskirts of the city are large groups of new apartment buildings, high-priced and catering to the relatively well-to-do.

But from Allenby Street it is also not far to the old section of Tel Aviv, whose narrow streets and dilapidated houses are populated mainly by Oriental Jews living in dismal poverty. (It is in this area that the Reuben Brainin Clinic, supported by progressive Jewish organizations in the United States and providing medical care for children at a nominal charge, is located.)

And it is not much further to the twin city of Jaffa, with the slum ghetto which houses most of its Arab population. Here the streets are even more narrow, the housing even more wretched and the poverty even more palpable than in Tel Aviv.

Nor are such contrasts confined to Tel Aviv and Jaffa. In the city of Acre, one passes through the "new city" with its broad thoroughfares and modern buildings and its mainly Jewish population, to enter the "old city"—the ancient walled town built by the Crusaders. Here, in a labyrinth of dark alleyways and courtyards, the bulk of the Arab population lives, most of it housed in a jungle of incredibly squalid slum dwellings built into the closely-packed ruins of a past age.

Such differences are everywhere in evidence, the fruits of a discrimination which mars the life of Israel just as the shameful system of Jim Crow mars that of our country. It is indeed ironic that a people which has so long fought against its own persecution

should itself become the oppressor of others. Of this we shall have more to say in a later article.

It is likewise ironic that a people which has for centuries fought against religious persecution should itself become the founder of a clerical state dominated by the practices of the orthodox Jewish religion. There is no civil marriage ceremony, nor any burial of the dead except through religious channels. The sale of pork is forbidden except in certain Christian communities (though it is widely bootlegged). On Saturdays life comes to a virtual standstill. And so on.

Yet most Israelis are not devout practitioners, and there is growing resentment at such restrictions and at the disproportionate political influence of extreme orthodox religious groups.

The Border

The harsh reality of Jewish-Arab hostility permeates the country in many ways. There is the border, which is everywhere. In Israel one does not have to travel far to reach it; indeed, at one point the country is only some seven miles wide. The border is a wall which cuts Jerusalem in half, a barbed-wire fence running through the center of an Arab village, a no-man's-land separating an Israeli kibbutz from the farmland of Jordan. It is an impenetrable barrier, through which there is no normal intercourse—only a continual succession of border incidents, of which one hears repeated stories. It takes little time to become keenly aware that Israel is a country completely isolated by land, that its only contacts with the outside world are by sea and air.

Within its borders, Israel is an armed camp. Soldiers of both sexes (women are drafted as well as men) are a frequent sight on the streets and roads, pretty much as they were in the United States during World War II. Convoys of tanks and other military equipment on the roads are a not unfamiliar sight.

Israel has a well-equipped army of some 250,000 troops. Close to 40 per cent of the national budget is devoted to military expenditures. The chief observance of Israel's Independence Day, April 25, takes the form each year of a huge military parade. The parade this year, which I witnessed, was held on the outskirts of Haifa and was attended by no less than 250,000 spectators from various parts of the country.

The sentiment created among the Israeli people by all this is that they are surrounded by implacable foes who will stop at nothing to encompass the destruction of Israel, and that only their

preparedness to wage war stands between them and extinction. Underlying this is the foreign policy of the Israeli government, which continues to be essentially one of ties to the U.S., British and West German imperialism and unbending refusal to recognize the rights of the more than a million Arab refugees. Of this, too, we shall have more to say.

But at the same time, there exists among the Israeli people a healthy democratic sentiment and a sincere desire for peace. There is widespread opposition to the war in Vietnam, and I observed on many a wall the slogan painted in Hebrew: "Yankees, take your hands off Vietnam." There is also widespread opposition to the government's ties to West German ruling circles, most recently expressed in the demonstration against Adenauer during his visit to Israel.

In short, there are two Israels just as there are two Americas.

II. THE ISRAELI ECONOMY

Israel's economy is a capitalist economy. It is necessary to stress this because the economy has a large cooperative sector, a fact which has led many to look upon it as basically "socialist."

Cooperative enterprises account for nearly one-fourth of Israel's national product and more than one-fourth of total employment. These include a complex of processing, manufacturing, construction, transportation, marketing and banking enterprises owned by Hevrat Ovdim (Society of Workers), an arm of the Histadrut—Israel's all-embracing labor organization.

They include also the kibbutzim, cooperative agricultural settlements organized on communal lines, and the moshavim, settlements of individual farmers sharing cooperative supply and marketing facilities. These, together with some settlements of an intermediate character, account for nearly 60 per cent of the entire agricultural output.

A number of kibbutzim maintain industrial enterprises of their own and have funds invested in other such companies jointly with private and state funds. Though not owned by Hevrat Ovdim, the agricultural cooperatives fall under its administrative aegis.

This scarcely begin to describe the scope and ramifications of the cooperative sector. It is clear, however, that it is a significant part of the Israeli economy, and that while it is not socialist, its existence will have a profound influence on the manner and forms of the ultimate development of socialism in Israel.

Nevertheless, the bulk of the economy is in private hands and is

organized on capitalist lines. More, it is dominated by foreign monopoly capital, mainly British and American, which controls the decisive industrial and financial enterprises.

Foreign Monopoly Domination

As is characteristic of capitalist countries, the agricultural collectives find themselves up against the squeeze of high monopoly prices for what they buy and low prices for their products. Hence, in order to mechanize and expand, they have had to go increasingly into debt.

The economic history of Israel since World War II has been one of phenomenal growth. Between 1950 and 1964 the gross national product quadrupled—an average growth rate of almost 11 per cent a year. Primarily, this spectacular rise is associated with the tremendous growth of the population during these years. But another factor of no small importance has been the huge volume of foreign investment. Since 1948, more than \$5.5 billion was poured into this small country—the highest per capita rate of capital import in the world.

These investments have provided the basis for a prolonged boom, which in recent years was heightened by the influx of some hundreds of millions in reparations from West Germany. But they have also served to deform the economy seriously, subjecting it to the striving of both foreign and domestic capital for maximum profits. A low proportion of the work force is engaged in material production, and there is a great preponderance of light over heavy industry.

Light industry makes up two thirds of the total, the reverse of the proportion in the U.S. and West Europe.

An unduly high number are employed in finance, commerce and services. This arises from the fact that foreign monopoly capital is interested not in the development of a balanced industrial economy in Israel but rather in investment outlets that offer the highest rate of immediate profit. Hence investments have been directed principally into banking, insurance, real estate, land speculation and similar channels.

As a consequence, Israel has had to rely heavily on imports, including most of its means of production. This in turn has led to a chronic deficit in trade and the balance of payments. According to the *Bank of Israel Bulletin* (December 1965), in 1963—a typical year—imports amounted to \$648 million and exports to \$364 million, leaving a trade deficit of \$284 million.

The problem has been greatly aggravated by the huge outlays for military equipment totalling some 30-40 per cent of the yearly budget. Most of the military equipment must be imported, and this has added considerably to the volume of imports with no offsetting rise in exports.

The balance of payments deficit has been met partly by import of capital, partly by foreign loans. This has led to a heavy and growing national debt, principally foreign, the interest on which now consumes more than 20 per cent of the national revenue. The enormous military budgets, together with the unproductive foreign investments, have given birth to chronic inflation and rising prices.

In official circles the expectation is repeatedly expressed that the high rate of economic growth will lead to economic independence. But this is clearly not the case.

A recent Histadrut pamphlet (*Cooperation in Israel*, by Noah Malkosh) says:

"Israel has not yet secured economic independence. Plans are now in execution for the achievement of economic solvency and self-sufficiency within the present decade, but in the meantime the country still relies to a great extent on foreign aid and investment for the maintenance of adequate living standards and for long-term development."

However, so long as the present dependence on British and U.S. capital continues, it is plain that such a goal is bound to remain a vain hope.

Israel's "economic miracle" is thus marked by severe limitations. Nor have the blessings of the prolonged boom been uniformly distributed. For the big capitalists these years have been lucrative. From 1956 to 1962, the declared profits of the large industrial concerns rose by 73 per cent, and those of the big banks showed a corresponding increase. On the other hand, as the Communist Party of Israel has pointed out, last year over 100,000 families required welfare assistance, and nearly 40 per cent of all employed workers had monthly incomes below the minimum subsistence level of \$100.

Especially pronounced is the poverty of Jews of Asian or African origin, whose per capita income has averaged only half of that of other workers (*Bank of Israel Report*, 1964). Arab workers have similarly suffered the affliction of low earnings and chronic poverty.

The increasing exploitation of Israeli workers is attested to by a growing wave of strikes, slowdowns and other actions. In 1960-64 the number of strikes was more than double the number in the

preceding five years, and the number of strikers increased nearly five-fold. Moreover, the great majority of these were wildcat strikes, conducted in opposition to the wishes of the Histadrut leadership. Through such militant struggles the workers have succeeded in winning some substantial gains but it is clear that, as in any other capitalist country, they are faced with an unending uphill fight.

In March, 1966, the West German reparations payments came to an end, and with this the economy was plunged into new difficulties. Unemployment began to rise sharply, particularly in the development areas of the southern part of the country.

On May Day, rioting against unemployment took place in two areas.

The Israeli government has responded to the problem in typical fashion, by giving aid to the employers.

The *Jerusalem Post* of May 4 reports: "The Ministerial Economic Committee yesterday approved a list of recommendations to alleviate unemployment in development areas. The recommendations call for giving priority in Government orders to plants in development areas; improving the profitability of such plants; and providing incentives for plants located in the coastal strip to relocate in such areas."

In addition, the problem of rising prices has become more acute. The rise had already begun to accelerate last year. The *Bank of Israel Bulletin* (December 1965) reported: "The consumer price index, excluding fruit and vegetables, went up 5.5 per cent between December, 1964, and June, 1965, in contrast to an increase of 2.7 percent during the first half of 1964 and 2.4 per cent during the second half."

The continued growth in the rate of price increases this year is also being met in typical fashion—by blaming them on wage increases. The Treasury has accordingly called upon workers who have received substantial wage boosts to agree to a wage freeze for the next two years and upon those due to receive retroactive pay to waive part of it. However, the *Jerusalem Post* complains, "only small sums have so far come into the special fund at the Bank of Israel from people making salary waivers. . . ." There is also talk of "planned unemployment" as a means of combatting inflation.

Clearly, the problems of Israeli workers are scarcely those of workers living under socialism. And they are compounded by the economic dependence of Israel on U.S. and British imperialism. Only when this dependence is ended, only when the Israeli government adopts a policy of neutrality including closer economic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, will

the basis be provided for solving some of these problems. Their full solution can be achieved, of course, only with the establishment of socialism.

III. NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND DISCRIMINATION

Israeli society suffers from the widespread existence of national discrimination and oppression within the country. Most notorious is the oppression of the Arab minority, numbering some 270,000.

Indeed, the Arab question in Israel plays a role in many ways comparable to that of the Negro question in the U.S., and its resolution is no less crucial for the country's future.

The present Arab population is the remnant of what was once the majority of the people inhabiting the territory that is now Israel.

During the War of Independence in 1948, some 900,000 either fled in panic or were driven out, to become refugees living in wretched settlements of tents and shacks across the border, mainly in Jordan. In many cases their homes were destroyed to prevent their return. Or they were taken over by Jewish immigrants. With the fate of these refugees and the significance of the refugee problem we will deal further on.

Today cities and towns once populated wholly by Arabs are either entirely Jewish or have small Arab minorities. Thus, the formerly all-Arab city of Jaffa now has only 6,000 Arabs. Towns like Beersheba and Ashkelon have none.

Those Arabs remaining in Israel have been treated ever since 1948 as an alien element—as a “fifth column” in league with Israel's enemies. To this day, they continue to live under military rule. Arabs are required to have passes to travel from one military zone to another. They may be arbitrarily subjected to detention by military authorities. Or areas may be closed off at will for “security” reasons, and even their inhabitants forbidden to enter them.

The powers of military rule have been used as a political weapon against Arabs daring to struggle against their oppression. They have been used also as an instrument for confiscating the lands of Arabs.

Initially some three-fourths of Israeli Arabs were small farmers. During the past 18 years the number has been drastically reduced by closing off their villages and requisitioning their land. Nearly half their land has been thus taken from them. Many have been

converted into "internal refugees," living in shacks in nearby villages and seeking work as agricultural laborers. Others have found their way to the cities, into employment in construction and service trades, and into already crowded slum ghettos.

Typical of these is the ghetto in Jaffa, where as many as 18 people are crowded into a room, and where many houses have been officially declared no longer safe for habitation. The city, I was told, is planning to raze these slums and to build modern apartments. It is already in the process of restoring some adjacent ruins which are being converted into night clubs. The hope is, among other things, to convert the area into a tourist center.

But for its residents there is no place to go. A struggle has developed, therefore, epitomized in the slogan. "A Flat for a Flat," which I saw painted in Hebrew and Arabic on many a wall.

The Arab farmers suffer discrimination with regard to credits, irrigation, mechanization, agro-technical aid and marketing arrangements, in much the same way as do Negro farmers in the South of our country. No elected labor councils exist in the Arab villages, and none of the mutual aid services maintained by Histadrut in the Jewish settlements are available.

The Arab wage workers are confined mainly to the poorly-paid unskilled occupations (although recently Arab employment has grown in the better-paying construction industry). They are almost completely excluded from highly skilled occupations, from administrative and executive posts, and from the professions.

A high proportion of Arab youth do not finish elementary school. In institutions of higher learning, Arabs are no more than 1.5 per cent of total enrollment (as against 12 per cent of the population). Only about three or four a year graduate from medical school.

In the technical and scientific fields they are largely excluded from education and employment on the grounds that they are "security risks." It is not uncommon for Arabs to assume Jewish names in order to find employment or to be admitted to an educational institution.

Within the Jewish population, anti-Arab chauvinism is intense, and not infrequently leads to violent outbursts. For example, last August in the town of Ramle, where 2,500 Arabs live among 20,000 Jews, there took place what the magazine *New Outlook* ("The Shame of Ramle," September, 1965) describes as an "attempted pogrom." A mob of Jewish young men was barely prevented by police intervention from invading the Arab community, seeking

"revenge" for the death of a Jew killed when his motor scooter collided with a truck driven by an Arab.

In the constant struggle of the Arab people against their oppression, the leading force has been the Communist Party of Israel. In the last elections it secured one-fourth of the total Arab vote of 100,000. In a number of Arab communities it commands 40-50 per cent of the vote. And in the all-Arab city of Nazareth, the Communists recently elected seven out of fifteen city councilmen. (The national government subsequently developed a pretext for dissolving the council and calling a new election.)

In an atmosphere of extreme Jewish-Arab hostility the Communist Party of Israel has for many years stood out as a shining beacon of unity between Jew and Arab—as a symbol of proletarian internationalism and the hope for Israel's future. All the more regrettable and damaging, therefore, is the split in its ranks which took place during the past year—a split which has seriously weakened that unity.

The Dark-Skinned Jews

National oppression in Israel is not confined to Arabs; it is also the lot of the darker-skinned Jews of Asian and African origin. These have migrated to Israel in large numbers lately, chiefly from Yemen and Iraq, and are now about half of its total population.

Much poorer and less educated than the Jews of European and American origin, they have been thrust to the bottom rungs of the economic and social ladders. Like the Arabs, they are crowded into "old city" slums which contrast sharply with the "new city" modern apartment buildings.

Their housing density is three to five times that of other groups. They are likewise crowded into the most unskilled, lowest-paying jobs. In 1964 their per capita monthly income was less than half of that of Western Jews and native-born Israelis. And they lag far behind in education.

They are subjected to all sorts of insults and indignities. " 'Cushi,' the Biblical term for Negro," says a *New York Times* story (January 29, 1965), "has taken on the same pejorative meaning in Israel as 'nigger' in the United States."

The pervasiveness of national discrimination and oppression which so poisons the internal life of Israel serves, as in every capitalist country, as a means of dividing the workers and intensifying their exploitation. Internationally, the oppression of the Israeli Arabs poisons the relations between Israel and the Arab states,

militating against peace and making the future of Israel insecure.

The lesson is an old one. One cannot fight one's own oppression by oppressing others. In Israel, therefore, the fight for full equality and democracy for all national groups takes the center of the political stage.

IV. ISRAEL'S FUTURE

Israel is a very young state; this year it celebrated its 18th birthday. But in this brief existence it has undergone phenomenal growth and evolution.

It developed as a haven for Jews who suffered the horrors of Nazi bestiality, and one often encounters people on whose arms are tattooed the numbers that mark for life the survivors of Hitler's death camps. It developed as a land of immigrants—from Europe, the United States, Asia, Africa—seeking a brighter, more secure life, a life free of persecution. From these and the native-born population an Israeli nation is being forged.

Born of the struggles of its people, with the offices of the United Nations resolution of 1947 and the initiative and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the State of Israel has become a reality. Its right to exist as an independent state is beyond question, and is to be defended without reservation.

Yet Israel's existence is a highly insecure one. Its economy lacks a firm footing. It is riven by national and ethnic discrimination, by divisions between Jew and Arab, between Western Jew and Oriental Jew. It is surrounded by Arab states with which its relations are those of extreme hostility, and its people live in the perpetual shadow of the threat of war.

What is the source of this insecurity, of the uncertainties of Israel's future? It lies first and foremost in the policies pursued by Israel's ruling class from the very beginning. These have been policies of economic dependence on U.S., British and West German monopoly capital and of political alignment with the forces of imperialism in the Middle East—an alignment whose most glaring expression was the involvement of Israel in the invasion of Egypt a decade ago.

A prime source of friction has been the unyielding refusal of the Israeli government to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs, above all the right of the more than a million Arab refugees to return to their homeland or receive compensation. The refusal even to recognize the problem, coupled with the treat-

ment of the Arab minority in Israel, has greatly exacerbated relations with the Arab countries.

In their totality, the policies of the Israeli government have consistently been such as to inflame Arab hostility and to play into the hands of those Arab leaders who falsely label Israel as "an artificial creation of imperialism" and call for its liquidation.

Nor have the rulers of Israel endeared themselves to the peoples of Africa, where their role has been that of an ally of neo-colonialism. A notorious case in point is the provision by Israel of military training to Tshombe's troops in the Congo.

Israel-Bonn Ties

Especially outrageous has been the establishment of close ties with the Nazi-infested, revanchist Bonn regime. The agreement negotiated with Western Germany for the payment of reparations has become the forerunner of an unholy relationship involving such deals as the two-way sale of arms arranged by Ben Gurion and Adenauer some years ago.

Despite the widespread repugnance and anger they have aroused, these ties have been maintained to this day. Just recently the Eshkol and Erhard governments concluded the arms deals agreed upon by their predecessors. And only last month the detestable Adenauer paid a formal visit to Israel, where he was welcomed by Eshkol as a "friend of the Jewish people" and was given an honorary fellowship in the Weizmann Institute of Science.

The alignment with imperialism has been accompanied, quite naturally, by hostility to the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist world. Anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism are rampant, and harassment of Communists and progressives is common.

The reactionary policies of the Israeli government, both foreign and domestic, eventually led to a serious crisis which forced the resignation of Ben Gurion as prime minister in 1963 and his replacement by Eshkol. In the last elections, held on Nov. 1, 1965, the Right-wing Rafi Party, organized by Ben Gurion's followers, suffered a devastating defeat. At issue was the defense of parliamentary forms and democratic rights against the trend toward military dictatorship represented by Ben Gurion.

The Eshkol government has since proclaimed a desire for improved relations with the socialist countries, and its foreign minister, Abba Eban, has just completed a visit to Poland, assertedly for that purpose. Culturally, ties with the Soviet Union have improved.

At the same time, however, it has continued to pursue, virtu-

ally unchanged, the same basic policy as the Ben Gurion regime before it.

This policy, to say the least, has been seriously detrimental to Israel's best interests. It has served only to isolate Israel and has gained it no real friends.

Certainly the aim of imperialism in the Middle East is not to serve the interests of the Israeli people but rather to fasten its tentacles more firmly on all peoples, Jewish and Arab alike. And for its own greedy ends it plays one against the other.

The N.Y. Times on May 20 announced that the U.S. had agreed to sell some tactical jet bombers to Israel. This the Johnson Administration seeks to justify on the grounds that the Soviet Union is supplying arms to the UAR, Syria and Iraq. But, the report adds, the U.S. itself recently gave a number of planes to Jordan and had entered into a deal to supply Hawk missiles to Saudi Arabia.

U.S. imperialism's game, clearly, is to use both Israel and the most reactionary Arab states against the forces of national liberation in the Middle East. The benefactors in such a suicidal conflict will obviously be neither the Israeli nor the Arab peoples.

Only a fundamental change of policy can serve the true interests of Israel. Israeli Communists have called for a policy based on recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, abandonment of reliance on imperialism and adoption of a position of neutrality as the only policy which can open the way to peaceful relations with the Arab states and insure the future of Israel and the Israeli people.

To be sure, the masses of Israeli working people are not yet ready to demand such a fundamental change as is required. Nevertheless, there is growing opposition not only to Ben Gurion but to his policies as well.

Opposition to the war in Vietnam is widespread, and it increasingly finds organized expression. There is a substantial movement for making the Middle East a nuclear-free zone.

Especially powerful is the opposition to ties with the Bonn government. Diplomatic recognition of West Germany, acted on by the Knesset early last year, secured only 66 out of 120 votes. Recently a joint protest against the renazification and rearming of Germany was issued by the youth of virtually all political parties. And the visit of Adenauer evoked stormy demonstrations of protest.

Clearly, the Israeli people are in motion, and though there is far to go, that motion is toward an Israel of peace, equality and social progress.

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